A

REFORM

OF THE

IRISH

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

CONSIDERED.

Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heav'n
Thus trampled, thus expelled, to ſuffer here
Chains and thoſe torments? better theſe than worſe,
Be my advice. *Milton.*

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A REFORM OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS CONSIDERED.

THE late proceedings at Dungannon, muſt neceſſarily have given ſome alarm to the real friends of the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate, and therefore a candid enquiry into the merits of the queſtion agitated at that aſſembly, a reform of the Iriſh parliament, ſeems at this juncture peculiarly requiſite. In diſcuſſing this queſtion I mean to purſue a mode very different from that adopted by the favourers of the meaſure, and inſtead of declamation to make uſe of argument.

We are told that thoſe who wiſh to keep things quiet and in their preſent ſtate, are enemies to all improvements, and would willingly perpetuate darkneſs and ſlavery amongſt mankind.---We are frequently triumphantly aſked, whether men are to be deterred by thoſe bug-bear words, novelty, and innovation, from improving the conſtitution either in church or ſtate. I anſwer no---But I ſay that it is abſolutely neceſſary for all innovators, to ſhow clearly that their plans and ſchemes have this tendency. ---I muſt obſerve too, that reformation differs widely from deſtruction, and the crude and indigeſted plans offered to our conſideration, by the reformers through the vehicle of news-papers, threaten nothing leſs than the total annihilation of our conſtitution.

Moſt of the defenders of the meaſures of the preſent Reformers, have confined themſelves to one point, and endeavoured to ſhow, that the people at large

large have a right to reform a corrupted government. For arguments ſake let us admit this to be true, though we may obſerve by the bye, that if the governors and governed, do not agree in opinion as to the corruption and propoſed reformation, that the ſword only can decide the conteſt between them;--- and that in all ſuch caſes, it will be reaſonable to conſider, whether the object contended for is worth purchaſing at the price of a civil war. But before this queſtion of the right of the people can be brought to an iſſue, there are a great many points to be proved. And firſt it muſt be proved, that the repreſentation of the people *in this kingdom*, is not now according to the primitive inſtitution; a fact that can by no means be admitted. Theoretical writers indeed, ſpeaking of the Engliſh conſtitution, talk of every Engliſh-man being virtually repreſented in parliament, their diſcriptions however are wholly fanciful, they correſpond with the particular ſpecula-

tive ſyſtem which each man adopts, like learned commentations, (as a very modern publication elegantly expreſſes it,) they torture the text into a meaning the author never dreamed of.---Now I maintain that *in Ireland* from the firſt grant of charters to corporations, boroughs in general were under the controll of individuals, and that lapſe of time and accident, has opened ſeveral boroughs not originally open. So that to prevent boroughs as now conſtituted, from ſending repreſentatives to parliament, is not to reform, but to alter the conſtitution. ---Another fact to be proved is, that the Reformers of a government ought to be armed bodies of men, and that theſe armed bodies may chooſe whom they think proper, even themſelves, to be ſole judges both of the corruption and the propoſed amendment, and that perſons ſo choſen, actually repreſent the whole kingdom. Whereas I aſſert that every individual in the community, has the ſame right to judge in a queſtion

of

of ſuch momentous concern, as a volunteer or his deligate. I maintain that freedom of debate is abſolutely neceſſary in all queſtions where truth alone is the object. I maintain that no man can debate with freedom, with a bayonet at his breaſt.—Another fact to be proved is, that a reform may be made without the concurrence of the men; who poſſeſs almoſt the whole landed property of the country, for ſuch are the preſent lords and commons of Ireland.—The procurers of Magna Charta in England, were the barons of the realm, the men of landed property.—When theſe points are properly ſettled, a buſineſs not yet accompliſhed, it will be then time enough to enter into the general queſtion, to that time I defer it.—

I ſhall in the firſt place obſerve, that the men who undertake to new model the conſtitution, have confeſſedly no ſenſe of their own, witneſs their application to Engliſh-men for advice; to men, totally

ignorant

ignorant of the particular local ſituation of this country, and of the manners, habits and cuſtoms of the people, a thorough knowledge of which could alone juſtify them, in giving their opinions on a ſubject like the preſent.---Theſe who have lived and converſed much in England, muſt have been frequently ſhocked and ſurprized, at the ſtrange and abſurd queſtions frequently put to them, by men of real underſtanding; in fact they know nothing of us.---I do inſiſt therefore that the men who have undertaken the arduous taſk of forming a new conſtitution, are men without knowledge. If they wanted information they ſhould have applied to their own countrymen, men of as good abilities, and as keen and penetrating as are to be met with in any part of the world, men who have likewiſe that particular knowledge before ſpoken of, which all others ſtand in need of---Theſe reformers further ſhew their want of underſtanding, by their abſurd and declamatory addreſs to the volunteers and people of Ireland, they

remind

remind them that Rome and Greece were free, but at length loſt their liberty.—What is the inference from hence? that we ought by no means to follow ſuch ill-deviſed forms of government as thoſe which ſubſiſted in Greece and Rome, and inſtead of changing or deſtroying, reſolutely adhere to a conſtitution which has ſtood that beſt teſt of a good government, time, and which we know, inſures liberty, and we believe promiſes permanancy. It is the opinion of a very ſenſible writer, whom it would have been no diſgrace to the Reformers to have read, that if a proper ſhare of power had been given to that reſpectable body of men in the Roman ſtate, the knights, its freedom might have been preſerved. Who governed Rome in the time of its liberty? the higheſt and the loweſt order of the people, the Patricians and Plebeians, a moſt inconſiſtent union of men; the ſhort duration of any government, where the laſt bear rule, may be foretold by any one without the gift of prophecy.—I ſhall quote the paſſage at large

large of the author above alluded to. "—But beſides the two great bodies of men, nobles and commons, into which nations naturally divide, they are ſeldom of conſiderable ſtanding, without a *middle order* forming, which untainted with the vices incident to either, partakes of the virtues of both, and conſequently bears a ſway in the government. Such are the gentry in Great Britain; correſponding to the Equeſtrian order in the Roman ſtate; and happy had it been for them and it, had they had a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration, and been more cloſely connected with the ſource of authority, the ſenate. For being uninfected with the ſloth and pride of the old nobility, and above the baſeneſs of the rude vulgar, they gave many a noble proof of their valour in war, and of their attachment to the better party in times of civil commotions—By a law of Mar. Roſcius, as they had ſeparate ſeats aſſigned them in the theatre, to the great mortification, of the envious multitude, and by the ſalutary policy

licy of Tullius Cicero, they were ſtrictly united with the Patrician order. While they continued firm in that union, their additional weight caſt the balance in the Tribunician ſtruggles, and gave the beſt counſels a great ſuperiority; but having been diſobliged by the too rigid Cato, in an abatement they prayed in the rate of the revenue, (which they uſually formed under the name of Publicans), and partly deluded, partly corrupted by the enemy of liberty, Julius Cæſar, they unhappily abandoned the ſenate and ſtood idle ſpectators of their own and their country's ruin. So that our conſtitution is free from the great defect in the Roman, the power of the people is lodged in an oppulent well-educated, enlightened gentry, inſtead of an ignorant, fickle and licentious populace. Whoever has read the hiſtory of Greece, knows that the collective body of the people, were the principal rulers in the petty ſtates, of which it was compoſed, who having no ſenſe of their own, were under the controul and direction of intereſted Demagogues, who

conducted them at pleaſure. The great Demoſthenes we know, was bribed by Philip of Macedon. Was there any man diſtinguiſhed by integrity or abilities, who was not baniſhed from his country by theſe abſurd rulers? In the opinion of the moſt judicious men, and as real lovers of liberty as ever exiſted a republican form of government is the worſt of tyrannies---" I can more readily admire, ſays the deep ſolid and ingenious Junius, the liberal ſpirit and integrity, than the ſound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy ſo limited and qualified as ours, I am convinced that neither is it in theory, the wiſeſt ſyſtem of government, nor practicable in this country." What idea then ought we to entertain of our new lawgivers, who require us to adopt theſe very defects into our conſtitution, which occaſioned the loſs of liberty in Rome and Greece, the making the populace our ſovereign; the meaſures propoſed to us, can have no other tendency!

What

What idea indeed can we conceive of them, but that their ignorance is equal to their preſumption.---Let us conſider the evils complained of in our preſent government, and the remedies propoſed.

Some men affect to ſay that it is too early to diſcuſs the ſubject of reform, becauſe no ſpecific plan has been propoſed, but let us look at the proceedings of the gentlemen of Dungannon as publiſhed by themſelves; after an addreſs to friends and countrymen, they ſay, *and then a ſpecific plan of reform was produced and read.* This plan has been detailed to us in every newſpaper, and therefore it is high time to ſhew the abſurdity and futility of all thoſe ſchemes which have been hitherto propoſed to us. ---I now perceive indeed that plans of reform are advertiſed for in the public papers.---If the reſpectable but illegal body of men now aſſembled in Dublin under the denomination of deligates, ſhall produce any new plans, they may be the ſubject of future conſideration, we have

however at preſent ample grounds to proceed upon.

The evils complained of are, that there are men of very large landed property in this kingdom, or as the reformers chooſe to expreſs it, an Ariſtoiratical intereſt in moſt of the Iriſh countries.

That there is not an equal repreſentation.

That there are rotten boroughs, or in other words, boroughs under the influence of Individuals.

The remedies propoſed are, to increaſe the number of Repreſentatives for Counties, to diſfranchiſe boroughs.

To increaſe the number of voters in great towns and cities.

To ſuffer men who have perſonal property, to be voters.

To let a certain claſs of Papiſts have votes.

To have elections annually, and by ballot.

We are ſo fond of imitating England in every thing, that we muſt even copy her abſurdities. England had lately her aſſociations of fierce republicans who were to reform her houſe of commons.--- But when the ſubject came to be diſcuſſed, and even men of abilities endeavoured to make ſomething of it, it was found that the ſchemes propoſed were calculated rather to increaſe, than diminiſh the ariſtocratical power of the country, and what was deemed the rotten part of the ſtate, was in fact the moſt dangerous to be tampered with.--- And the very able young man who brought forward this arduous buſineſs in Parliament, did not venture to lay a ſacriligious hand on this part of the ancient temple.

It is amazing how much mankind have always been deluded by words.

Julius

Julius Cæſar would never have governed Rome, Oliver Cromwell England, or the Congreſs America, with the title of King; yet the executive power in a ſtate is the ſame thing, whether it be in the hands of an Imperator, a Protector, or a Congreſs.---Equal repreſentation, and rotten boroughs, are at preſent the majic words in the mouths of every one, which are to baniſh all our doubts and ſcruples, and make us change our form of government without heſitation or delay. The reformers at Dungannon have the aſſurance to tell us that they recur to the original inſtitution of Parliament, whether this be fact or not, we muſt enquire in England, they will not I believe ſay, that Parliament is an Iriſh inſtitution. The Engliſh writers differ in opinion as to the origin of the houſe of commons, but they all agree in the following points, that the commons were at firſt a very contemptible and inconſiderable body of men.---That attendance on parliament was looked upon as a grievous burthen. That members were paid by their conſtituents

ſtituents for their attendance there. That all boroughs, whenever an opportunity offered, endeavoured to get themſelves excuſed from returning members. That the commons continued to be a body of men of no importance, until the reign of Henry the ſeventh, when by the encouragement of commerce, and a licence to alienate land, a more equal diffuſion of property took place. Counties which had the moſt trading towns, of courſe ſent the greateſt number of repreſentatives to parliament. Where then are to be found the traces of equal repreſentation? Upon the late diſcuſſion of the ſubject of a reform in the Engliſh houſe of commons, not one of thoſe great trading towns which have of late years riſen into ſplendor and opulence, petitioned to have repreſentatives in Parliament, fully ſenſible that the mere honour of returning two members, would be too dearly purchaſed by ſeptennial riot, drunkneſs, profligacy, perjury. So that the members returned to Parliament, be men of probity and property in the country,

what

what matters it, from whence they come whether from the Eaſt or the Weſt, the North or the South? Let the reformers tell us what they mean by equal repreſentation, let them ſtate the benefits of it, and not amuſe us with mere words, and paltry common place of liberty, and of Greece, and of Rome.

We have before our eyes a melancholy inſtance of the danger of altering an eſtabliſhed form of government in the preſent lamentable ſtate of America. The provincial aſſemblies heretofore reſpectable and important for their power, are now dwindled into bodies almoſt wholly inſignificant. Congreſs endeavours to exert its deligated powers, the aſſemblies reſiſt. What muſt be the end of theſe things? Can any one doubt but that America had a freer and happier conſtitution, with England at her head, than ſhe now enjoys, or has a proſpect of enjoying? Are the reformers of Ireland wiſer than the reformers of America? Have they in their writings ſhewn more

clear

clear, more enlightened underſtandings? If in any alteration in the conſtitution of a country, that alteration, ſhould not in the event be palpably for the better, great popular tumult and anarchy will be the conſequence of it. Defects or corruptions in a government which are of great antiquity, are quietly acquieſced in by the people, new ones will never be ſubmitted to. A conſideration this that will always have the greateſt weight with enlightened politicians.

Let us conſider the firſt propoſed remedy to our *intolerable grievances*, the increaſing the number of knights of ſhires. And I may properly in this place obſerve, that what is termed opening boroughs, by allowing the freeholders of the country to vote in them, is exactly the ſame meaſure, as increaſing county members, and disfranchiſing Boroughs. Voters in boroughs are very few, and have the excluſive right of voting for repreſentatives, if you admit an inundation of new voters amongſt them you deſ-

troy this excluſive right, in fact you annihilate and diſfranchiſe them. A government in this kingdom by a parliament, is a conſtitution adopted from England. The original and wretched government of Ireland was that of a number of independent petty princes, or chieftains, theſe princes are now melirated into nobles of large landed property. From want of commerce, and of courſe want of money, from the ſmall value of our land, this property remains in general with the ancient poſſeſſors. There is at preſent a very wide difference between an Engliſh and an Iriſh Freeholder. There are in England a great number of people poſſeſſed of ſmall freeholds purchaſed by their induſtry, and of ſuch they in general conſiſt, whereas the Iriſh freeholders are for the moſt part tenants to great men, their numbers would be very very inconſiderable indeed, were it not for our peculiar mode of granting land to tenants by leaſes for lives, a practice very little known in England.

No

No country can adopt a conſtitution from another country without being liable to ſome inconveniences from particular local circumſtances. Could France or Spain adopt the Engliſh conſtitution? If you increaſe the number of county repreſentatives, the right of voting being in the free-holders, who are naturally and neceſſarily under the influence of their land-lords, you of courſe increaſe the ariſtocratical power you complain of. If this meaſure therefore be carried into effect, what will be the conſequence? In counties where there is no particular predominant intereſt, the gentlemen of the greateſt property will agree among themſelves who ſhall be the members. In other counties where there is an overbearing influence, the nobleman who now returns two members, will nominate ten. Abſentee noblemen whom we are abſurdly going to tax, will pour in upon us, exert to the utmoſt, an influence now ſomewhat dormant, and return whom they pleaſe to parliament. The little conſequence that free-holders now enjoy,

will be totally extinguiſhed, no one will condeſcend to aſk them for a vote. A houſe of commons, that ought to contain the collective wiſdom of the nation, lawyers, merchants, ſoldiers, will be compoſed either of country gentlemen, or the dependants of peers. If counties alone ſent members to the houſe of commons, is it probable that we ſhould have ever ſeen a Burgh or Grattan in that aſſembly?

But the reformers themſelves ſeem aware of theſe objections, and attempt to guard againſt them, by the following expedients which we ſhall proceed to examine.

Let us conſider the plan, of increaſing voters in great towns and cities. The inhabitants of theſe towns and cities, conſiſt of low tradeſmen, mechanics, apprentices. Men, the moſt licentious, drunken and proffligate of any in the community. Are theſe the proper judges of

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the merits of canditates? I lay it down as a fundamental and incontrovertible maxim, that reſpectable conſtituents will alone return reſpectable repreſentatives, this is acknowledged by the Reformers themſelves, who in one of their Reſolutions ſay, that the elective right ought to extend to thoſe only who are likely to exerciſe it for the public good. Are the perſons above-mentioned likely to exert the elective franchiſe for the public good? Obſerve the conſiſtency of their plans, and of their reſolutions. The lower orders of the people, ſet no other value on a vote than as it procures them money or intereſt, the merit of canditates is no part of their conſideration. Can we affect to be ignorant of theſe things? Can we ſhut our eyes to the profligate and abandoned conduct of voters at every election in the kingdom where there is a conteſt? The uncivilized ſtate of the lower orders of the community, is ſufficiently apparent from the reſolutions of all the volunteer corps of Ireland, who expreſsly declare,

clare, that one of the principal reaſons of their inſtitution, was to carry the laws into execution, and give ſtrength to the too feeble arm of the civil magiſtrate. Let us attend to the words of one of the Dungannon correſpondents Mr. Wyvil, "If (ſays he,) the capital contains, (and I aſſert that not only the capital, but that every great town and city in the kingdom, actually does contain) a numerous and proffligate populace, the annual aſſembly of that populace, for the purpoſe of elections, would certainly produce tumults, and all the wild and pernicious effects of frantic inſurrection; evils like theſe would be more intolerable than thoſe abuſes which are ſo juſtly complained of, and would lead Ireland through a ſcene of fatal calamities to the utter ruin of all conſtitution." Can any thing be more expreſſive than theſe words, the words too of a violent republican? But the Reformers perhaps may ſay, we do not mean to give the elective franchiſe to ſuch men as you deſcribe. But I maintain that there are no others to give it

to.

to. Can you call into exiſtence a new race of men? Are they to be brought from the Clouds? Who are they? Where are they to be found? Point them out. We are next deſired to allow perſons having perſonal property only, a right of voting. But wherefore? Surely if men are poſſeſſed of perſonal property ſufficiently large to intitle them to ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour, and have a wiſh to become voters, there can be no reaſon why they ſhould not purchaſe a Freehold; perſonal property is of too fluctuating a nature to found ſuch a right upon. We all know what little ſcruple men in this country make of ſwearing they have a freehold, which they really have not, certain as they are, of being examined as to the denomination of their land, its ſituation, extent, value, and a hundred other particulars, in which they know that many can contradict them. What check will there be on ſuch men, when they have nothing to do, but to ſwear that they are worth twenty or thirty pounds?

To what an immenſe length are elections even now protracted! What will be their duration when the number of voters are ſo greatly increaſed! If thouſands of men who actually have no freeholds apply to be admitted as voters, will not men who in fact do not come under the deſcription of the new created claſſes of voters alſo apply? Muſt not theſe men be examined and croſs-examined by lawyers? There would be no end to elections. But to complete our happineſs the Reformers require that theſe elections ſhould be annual. Surely theſe are the wildeſt ſchemes that ever entered into the diſordered brains of mad theoriſts, what can they end in, but confuſion, riot, anarchy, tyranny.

But in truth, reformation appears not to be the object of our new law-givers, as will ſufficiently appear when we come to conſider another of their principal plans. A new form of government, a republic is their object, and this is carried on under the popular pretext of reforming the repreſentation.

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The grand meaſure I allude to, is allowing certain claſſes of Papiſts to vote at elections. From whence did all theſe reforming ſchemes originate? from the Diſſenters of the North. Are fire and water more oppoſite than a Papiſt and a Preſbyterian? This plan therefore of admitting Roman Catholics to the right of voting at elections, was clearly adopted for no other purpoſe than to ſecure a powerful and numerous body of men to the party; for Diſſenters and Roman Catholics differ ſo widely, both in political and religious opinions, that it is utterly incredible that ſuch a propoſition could be made for any other purpoſe. He muſt be a very ill-bred man, indeed, who would not allow Catholics the utmoſt freedom, in religion, but to admit men who ſo greatly exceed us in numbers, and differ ſo widely from us in political ſentiments, into a ſhare in our public councils, is not to be juſtified by the practice of other Proteſtant nations, and inſtead of being conſtrued into liberality of ſentiment, ought rather to be deemed want of common prudence and

foreſight. Will gentlemen be cajoled out of their ſenſes for fear of having an inapplicable epithet unjuſtly beſtowed upon them? We all know that in this country there are a ſet of men who go under the denomination of Proteſtants, but are in fact Papiſts, and who are inſtructed to act as ſpies upon our conduct. One of the Dungannon correſpondents ſays, there is no danger in letting papiſts vote at elections, becauſe they cannot vote for a popiſh repreſentative. This makes good a former obſervation of mine, that Engliſh-men are but ill qualified to write on the ſubject in queſtion, from want of local knowledge. Men who profeſs a religion, that diſpenſes with oaths, and moral obligations when the intereſt of their church is concerned, and who acknowledge a foreign juriſdiction, will have no occaſion for ſcruples in pretending a conformity to Proteſtaniſm, when they have ſo great an object in view; as the obtaining the government of a kingdom, and cruſhing the perſons they deteſt.

Many

Many of the arguments already urged, apply to that extravagant propoſal of annual elections, I therefore think it unneceſſary to ſay another word, on that part of the ſubject.

Boroughs ſeem to be the great object of the reſentment of the Reformers, let us ſee with what reaſon. They are in general under the influence of private gentlemen of conſiderable landed property, who procure themſelves, their relations, and friends to be returned to Parliament. The elections in theſe boroughs are carried on without riot, without conteſts, without perjury.—If money be given, it is a matter only known to one in the borough; the reſt have no knowledge of it. Reſpectable men, are for the moſt part returned; for no gentleman who has any regard either to his own character, or the feelings and ſituation of the electors can venture to propoſe a worthleſs perſon. It is no ob-

jection to what I ſay, that two or three exceptions may be adduced to what I advance. I will engage to point out as many worthleſs individuals amongſt the county, as the borough repreſentatives. The men who have made the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure in the Houſe of Commons, are borough members. The man to whom we owe our free trade and our free conſtitution, is a borough member. I grant that Burgeſſes are not returned to parliament, in a manner correſpondent to the ideas of the ſpeculative Theoriſt. But this is not the only inſtance where Theory and Practice are at variance. Liberty does ſubſiſt in full vigour with a repreſentation of the people conſtituted as ours is, but whether it will ſubſiſt in another mode is a matter of very great uncertainty; clouds and darkneſs hang upon it. Can we heſitate between a conſtitution, the envy of the world, whoſe ſuperior excellence, time has juſtified, and one that Puritans and Catholics take upon them to frame for us?

If

If I were to venture to ſuggeſt an amendment in the conſtitution, it ſhould be by diminiſhing inſtead of increaſing voters at elections. I would not ſuffer any one to vote for a knight of a ſhire who had not a ten pound free-hold; this would according to the agreement of all writers, be recurring to the primitive inſtitution of Parliament. I am certain it would be a great amendment to permit no one to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, who had not a conſiderable landed property, a fixed property being the only tie which the nature of things admits, for ſecuring the attachment of individuals to the intereſt of their country. This I think, is a maxim that can never enough be inſiſted on, the futility of all other plans, are apparent, you cannot by putting the repreſentation on a new footing, increaſe the morality of the country, you cannot make men better or wiſer. The Reformers ſeem to pay no attention to the real

real ſtate of mankind, or the motives and paſſions, by which they are governed. A ſeat in the Houſe of Commons is an object of no moment, except only as it opens a conſpicuous ſcene of action, to an ambitious man who has rhetorical talents, or a proſpect of the emoluments of office, to an an avaritious one. What inducements are theſe for men, wholly diſintereſted and unambitious, to ſeek a ſeat there? Is there any entertainment in the buſineſs of the houſe? Is a daily attendance for two months on a ſelect committee an agreeable employment. Is the dipping a man's eſtate very deeply in a conteſted election, firſt in the country, and then in a committee of the Houſe of Commons, an enviable operation? Is an expenſive eſtabliſhment in Dublin, for the purpoſe of attending Parliament, deſirable? The ſame motives therefore that operate on the preſent Houſe of Commons will operate on one new modelled.

The

The only tie then upon Repreſentatives is a landed property, a ſtake in the country to counterballance improper motives.

It is impoſſible to diſmiſs the preſent ſubject, without ſaying a few words on the Volunteers. When they purſued, what they profeſſed, to be the true intent of their inſtitution, the defence of their country, againſt an invading enemy, and the inforcement of its police, I paid them with the reſt of my countrymen, the tribute of gratitude and applauſe. What a different light do they ſtand in now, from what they did on a late occaſion, when they united their voice with that of the parliament, and that of their country-men, in aſſerting the acknowledged rights, of Ireland? They then aided the conſtitutional power of the country, they now endeavour to ſubvert it. They will undoubtedly find both houſes of parliament, ſtrongly againſt their meaſures. When this country

try has every thing to loſe and nothing to gain, would they involve it in a civil war, for a mere ſhadow?

The alteration of the repreſentation, is not the only object of the volunteers. They have other plans in contemplation, as wiſe and as practicable as this. Their Engliſh correſpondents, kindly adviſe them to bring forward one at a time. What proſpect has Ireland of peace or repoſe after all ſhe has obtained? We want in this country, men of large capitals, to ſettle amongſt us, that we may make ſome advantage of our free trade, who will aſſiſt us in the preſent diſturbed ſtate of things? It is unneceſſary to dwell on this diſagreeable ſubject. The conſequences of the preſent proceedings, muſt be obvious to every thinking man. It is to be hoped that the volunteers ſatisfied with their well-earned laurils, will ſoon think proper, to convert their war-like weapons into the peaceful ploughſhear; that they

they will no longer be deluded by the arts of deſigning men; that they will quit the road that does not lead to honour; that they will conſider that perfection is not attainable in any form of government; that the event of any reform muſt be a matter of uncertainty; that a corner ſtone removed will endanger the whole building; that commerce, the arts of peace, the lenient hand of time, a more equal diffuſion of property, the growing ſpirit of the country will of themſelves produce every reform which the conſtitution can admit, but which the rough hand of violence can never effect.

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they will no longer be deluded by the arts of designing men; that they will quit the road that does not lead to honour; that they will consider that perfection is not attainable in any form of government; that the event of any reform must be a matter of uncertainty; that a terrific flame removed will endanger the whole building; that compares the arts of peace; the lenient hand of time, a more equal division of property, the growing spirit of the country will of themselves produce every reform which the constitution can admit, but which the rough hand of violence can never effect.

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